MARYLAND

# COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

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"Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them." JEFFERSON.

EXTRACT from the "Eighth Annual Report of the Committee for Foreign Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States."

"WESTERN AFRICA, CAPE PALMAS, *March*, 1836.

"PRIMARY STATION.—CAPE PALMAS.—Rev. T. S. Savage, M. D.; one male; one female Teacher; one Assistant, (colored;) one native Assistant.

"OUT STATIONS.—GRAWAY, 8 miles—J. D. Moore and wife, Teachers, (colored). CAVALLA, 12 miles—Rev. J. Payne, Mrs. Payne; one male, one female Teacher, (colored); one native Assistant. RIVER CAVALLA, 20 miles—Rev. J. Smith; one Teacher, (native). ROCKBOOKAH, 25 miles—M. Appleby, (white,) Teacher; one native Assistant. TABOO, 40 miles—Rev. L. B. Minor, Mrs. Minor; one native Assistant."

We regret that our limits will not permit us to insert the whole of the Report respecting the Mission at Cape Palmas: the following sections however are too interesting to the friends of the Colony to be omitted.

After speaking of the deaths of Miss Coggeshall and Mrs. Savage, and paying a just tribute to their memory and worth, the Report proceeds:

"These afflictive dispensations occurring so near together, under such affecting circumstances, are regarded by the Committee, and will doubtless be viewed by the Board, as melancholy proof of the imminent risk of life to which our missionaries are exposed in the uncongenial climate of AFRICA. They surely evince the imperative obligation of the Church to command unceasingly our brethren there to the protection and guidance of that gracious Being who hath promised, "*Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God.*" Prospered as the mission had been in an unlooked-for exemption from mortality, one death only having occurred since the establishment of the mission, and that not from any local cause; we were perhaps too sanguine, and needed to be reminded of our feebleness and dependence. In the language of the missionary at *Cavalla*,—"the two deaths which have followed each other in such quick succession, afford both us and the Committee but too convincing proof that our mission is not to be exempt from that sacrifice of life which has attended all other missions to this country; and it ought not to be concealed from you and the Church, that the feeble health of our missionaries generally, furnishes melancholy evidence to the same effect. At the present, Mr. Appleby and myself are the only members of the mission, (I mean whites,) who can be said to enjoy any thing like good health. It ought *not to be concealed*, that there are seasons when we seem to hang by a thread over the grave, and the very existence of our

mission seems threatened. We look anxiously around for those who would take our places. Amongst our converts we find none qualified for this purpose—and to AMERICA we look almost in vain. Nearly three years have now elapsed* since one missionary came over to help us! Our thoughts are often turned, in this dilemma, to the *West Indies*, from whence we might reasonably hope that labourers better fitted to withstand the climate could be obtained. But when, or how, or by whom, shall such persons be brought to us? In these trying circumstances, it is sweet to know that the cause is God's, and that he will take care of His own cause."

"In the last communication which the Committee have received from the Rev. Dr. Savage, he remarks—"I have had of late two attacks of greater severity than any since my visit to America. It is thought by others that I ought to abstract myself from my cares and duties for a time. One consideration that will operate in favour of it, will be to procure, if possible, suitable coloured assistants or teachers from some quarter; men who will be capable of keeping up a station in case of the death of the present incumbent; at any rate, till a successor can arrive from AMERICA. It is the general opinion among us, that the safety of the mission, and the best interests of the cause, if not its ultimate success, depend upon our procuring, at the earliest date, such aids—*aids* they must be, and no higher relation can they sustain for years. The colony, and our schools, cannot for years to come, afford such assistance. From the colony, we have no such expectation."

We are sorry to find an open and express avowal of such sentiments with regard to the capacity of the coloured race, by the oldest and most prominent missionary of the Episcopal Church in Liberia, in an official communication to the Board of Missions, and to see the same endorsed by them, and embodied in their "Annual Report."

With a knowledge that such are the sentiments of their missionaries in Africa, we are at a loss to conceive why the Board of Missions look farther for the *causes* of "difficulties between the missionaries and colonists," of which they speak in another part of their Report as having existed. Their conduct towards a people held in such estimation, with whom they have daily intercourse, and who themselves have any claim to equality with their fellow-men, or self-respect, must of necessity be such as to cause "heartburnings, envyings and strife." The inhabitants of Liberia have been forced by the prejudice and intolerance of a dominant race, to seek a refuge in the inhospitable climate of Africa, and there at least they may hope, not to be doomed to a secondary rank in the scale of being. Even if the assertion was true that coloured men from any quarter could be capable of sustaining no higher relation than *aids* to the white missionary for years, we are unable to divine what good could result from spreading it before the world. But however sincere Dr. Savage might have been in his conviction of the moral or intellectual incapacity of the man of colour and his consequent unfitness to act as principal in the Episcopal mission; yet we are far from admitting the correctness of his position. We have long maintained, and we believe we are supported by facts—by history, THAT THE MOST EFFICIENT AGENTS, THE MOST RESPECTABLE AND POPULAR GOVERNORS OF COLONIES, AND THE MOST SUCCESSFUL MISSIONARIES,

* The Rev. Mr. Hazlehurst arrived subsequently to the date of this letter.

PREACHERS AND TEACHERS THAT HAVE LABOURED IN LIBERIA SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THAT COLONY, HAVE BEEN COLOURED MEN. We make the assertion, broad and unqualified, and its truth must be admitted by every unprejudiced man who will make himself thoroughly acquainted with the colony for the past twelve years.

If it is alleged that the assertion is too general to admit of investigation, and intangible, we hesitate not to compare the more prominent actors in Maryland in Liberia, one by one, and appeal to any one acquainted with the individuals for the justness of our conclusions, even to Dr. Savage himself, and we trust we may be excused for introducing the names of individuals which have often been before the public, as our only object in so doing is to prove the correctness of our position. We would ask Dr. Savage why would not Mr. Polk and B. V. R. James, coloured teachers and assistants in the A. B. C. F. Mission, well compare for efficiency, ability, or purity of life with Messrs. Byron, Appleby and Perkins, white assistants in the Protestant Episcopal Mission? We know not. Again, take the Rev. Mr. Payne, one of the white principals of the Episcopal Mission, (and we believe, if we are to judge from reports, the most successful one in that mission;) and in what respect as a preacher and missionary does he excel the Rev. A. D. Williams, at present the coloured principal of the Methodist Mission at Cape Palmas. Both of these gentlemen are characterized for their extreme amiability, mildness and devotion to the great cause in which they are engaged. Then take two who have often been compared, and between whose moral constitutions there existed the strongest resemblance, viz: the Rev. J. L. Wilson, the principal of the A. B. C. F. Mission at Cape Palmas, and the Rev. John Revey, late colonial secretary—both Calvinistic clergymen and both long labourers in Africa. The former, well known throughout the United States and Africa for his devotedness to the cause of African christianization, and of whom we have often had occasion to speak as one of *the best* men that it was ever our good fortune to know; yet we cannot doubt that he would express deep satisfaction in the assurance of *living* and *dying* like John Revey. We fear not to hazard the assertion, that any one well knowing the character and standing of these two men, will pronounce a comparison of them in point of intellectual capacity and moral worth, just and obvious.

Then compare Dr. Savage himself, with all the advantages of an academical education at Yale, the subsequent acquisition of two liberal professions and the benefits attendant upon free intercourse with the prominent men of both; with the coloured physician of the colony in which he resides, Dr. McGill: who spent but three years in his preparatory studies and obtaining his doctorate, and that too under the disadvantages necessarily attendant upon the prosecution of his profession in this country; and if professional success is to be considered the criterion of merit, in whose favour does the scale preponderate? Certainly the disparity between them is not so great that either could object to the comparison.

Of the female missionaries and teachers in Liberia, let us enquire who among the many intelligent, accomplished and pious ladies that have solemnly devoted themselves to this hazardous field of labour, possesses the

physical ability or has evinced that capacity for the instruction of the native youths, as Elizabeth Thompson; and where is the female missionary that has laboured so untiringly, perseveringly and successfully? Here we institute no comparison: with the highest appreciation of the capacity and devotedness of others we are unable to find a parallel.

These comparisons might be extended to the other colonies on the coast, and we pledge ourselves that for every prominent white labourer in Africa, whether distinguished for piety, devotedness to the cause of African christianization, or for mental ability, we will produce his equal—his acknowledged and proved equal from among the Liberians. As we before remarked, we institute these comparisons from no invidious feelings, for we have the utmost respect and kind regard for most of those to whom we have alluded, but because we consider it a mere matter of justice to those whom we conceive suffer from unwarrantable aspersions. By permiting the dissemination of such sentiments as those of Dr. Savage, in such form and under such sanction, without remark or comment, we conceive we should prove recreant to the cause in which we are engaged, and ungrateful to those whom we have the strongest reasons to respect and esteem.

We trust the Episcopal and other Missionary Boards will yet learn, ere it is too late, that the most available agents for effecting any object in Africa are the Africans themselves, the Americo-Africans: and if those of the right faith or profession are not to be obtained in the colonies, they can be in the United States. If it is objected that they are not willing to embark and devote themselves to the cause, the reason is to be found in the communication of Dr. Savage—"*they must act as aids—for years they can sustain no higher relation.*"

Offer to the intelligent coloured man in the United States (and there are plenty of them) the same position in the mission as the whites of the same capacity and acquirements, give him the same outfit, and allow him the same establishment in Africa, and there will be no lack of volunteers, able and efficient men too, whose constitutional adaptedness to the climate will enable them uninterruptedly to continue their labours. If this course is not pursued, let the Board of Missions be assured that all efforts to extend and perpetuate their mission will prove abortive.

Near the close of the Report another section occurs, not less interesting to the supporters of colonization in Maryland, viz:

"No further difficulties appear to have arisen between the missionaries and the colonists at the primary station. It is very probable that things remain much as they were at the last annual meeting of the Board.—From the semi-annual accounts, just received from the primary station, it appears that charges are still made for military fines. The Committee have not sought another conference with the managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society, under whose jurisdiction is the colony at *Cape Palmas*, because there appeared no sufficient grounds for anticipating a more favourable result. When this site was selected as the field of our missionary operations in AFRICA, in preference to all others, it was assigned as a principal reason by the Committee, in their first Report, that, "it being the chief design of the Mission to operate on the native inhabitants of the country, there existed fewer obstacles here than elsewhere to a peaceable and friendly intercourse with them; whereas, at other places mentioned, cir-

cumstances had occurred calculated to alienate the natives from the colonists, and to render them less accessable to any attempts for their religious and moral improvement." Encouraged as the Committee were to select this site, given under these circumstances for this purpose, it would be a source of mortification and deep regret to find the friendly attitude of the Maryland State Colonization Society, succeeded by apparent hostility to the spiritual interests of the mission. The Committee hope better things, and trust that an amicable arrangement may yet be made, consistent with the mutual interests of the colony and the mission. The instructions given to the missionaries, subsequent to the last annual meeting of the Board, were, to *retain* the primary station at *Cape Palmas*, except in the *last resort*."

We copy the above as italicised in the Report, but are really at a loss what comments to make thereon, as we are unable clearly to conceive *what* and *how much* is *meant* to be understood. Certainly nothing is distinctly asserted, except in the third paragraph, that "it appears charges are still made for military fines." Fines from whom or what is not stated, but we recognise the name of one colonist among the *attachés* of the *primary* station. If the fine is for his neglect of duties as a citizen of the colony, why this mention of it; for the Secretary of the Board of Missions was assured that no colonist possessed the power of denaturalising himself and still reside within the limits of the colony; and that fines for neglect of military or fatigue duty should always be collected of such. If the fine was not exacted from a colonist why not say so?

The last sentence but two, commencing "encouraged," evidently insinuates that the Maryland State Colonization Society has changed its friendly attitude and become hostile to the Episcopal Mission. Now we conceive that a document like this, on a point of so much importance and delicacy, ought to speak out plainly, or not at all. If the *assertion* had been made that the Maryland State Colonization Society was unfriendly to the Episcopal Mission in any way whatever, we should at once deny the charge, and prove from public documents and recorded acts, both in this country and in Africa, that a contrary disposition has ever been manifested. But "the Committee hope better things," says the Report, and "Instructions have been given to the missionaries to *retain* their primary station at Cape Palmas except in the *last resort*." Here then is another insinuation, more unfair and disingenuous than the former. One unacquainted with the state of the Episcopal Mission at Cape Palmas, would be led to infer therefrom, that it was in the most critical circumstances—that its position was so hazardous that it was found necessary to send out discretionary instructions, to act only in case the dreaded and much feared emergency should happen—to bear, until forbearance ceased to be a virtue and then abandon all and flee.

We can conceive of no better answer to the three last paragraphs of the forgoing quotations, it being from an official document, than for the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society to meet and issue one equally ambiguous and at the same time significant: something like the following for instance. "Encouraged as the Board was by the professions of the Missionary Board that their intentions were to endeavour through the instrumentality of their missionaries to enlighten and christianise the native Africans within and on the borders of the colony, and to raise

them to a level with the American colonists, that they might ultimately unite in forming one vast christian empire or republic; it would be a source of mortification and deep regret to find the attitude of the Missionary Board succeeded by apparent hostility to the true welfare of the natives and the *temporal* interests of the colony. The Board hope for better things and trust that an amicable arrangement may yet be made consistent with the mutual interests of the mission and the colony. Instructions have been transmitted to the Governor of the colony to *permit* the missionaries to retain their primary station at Cape Palmas (granted for the above purposes of improving the natives and promoting harmony between them and the colonists) except in the *last resort.*"

Such we conceive the only appropriate response which the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society could make to the passages above quoted; but we doubt much if the Missionary Board would consider either the insinuation or the threat therein contained as prompted by those feelings which ought ever to actuate men professedly engaged in a work of philanthropy and love.

If the Board of Missions hope better things from the Maryland State Colonization Society, certainly the unjust insinuations, that it has assumed an attitude of apparent "hostility to the spiritual interests of the mission," and that extreme and oppressive measures are to be apprehended which may force them to abandon their primary station, are not calculated to induce better things.

Whether the Board of Managers will be disposed at present to take any action upon this matter, we are unable to say; but if they do so, we hope they will be more definite and specify what by them will be considered the *last resort*, forcing them to *require* the abandonment of the mission station in the colony. For ourselves we consider that a perseverence in the policy and conduct heretofore pursued by some of the missionaries of the Episcopal Board, ought, and must of necessity ensure a result so deeply to be regretted:—such, for instance, as unmeasured denunciations of those whom the Colonization Socitey has seen fit to employ as its agents;—dictation to the chief magistrate of the colony in the performance of his highest official duties;—representing to the natives that the colonists in this country were in a state of slavery and degradation, and therefore unfit to be their associates in Africa;—expressing to visiters to the colony the utmost contempt for the colony and its government:—formally denouncing, in a circular to the various Missionary Boards, (not published, but yet made known,) the character of the colonists as infamous, and that of the government as weak and inefficient—and in uniformly representing, as in the communication in the above noted report, the coloured man as only fit to act in a subordinate capacity. If this line of conduct is to be pursued, and the missionaries thus continue to heap obloquy upon the colonists and contempt upon its government, we conceive that one of two alternatives must be the result, either the mission must be removed or the colony abandoned.

## CENSUS OF "MARYLAND IN LIBERIA."

We have received from Governor Russwurm the annual census of our colony for the present year, of which the following is a summary:

COLONISTS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Males, over 21 years of age, . . . . . | 132 | |
| " over 10 " " . . . . . | 68 | |
| " under 10 " " . . . . . | 95 | |
| | | 295 |
| Femles, over 18 years of age, . . . . . | 162 | |
| " over 10 " " . . . . . | 70 | |
| " under 10 " " . . . . . | 97 | |
| | | 329 |
| Total, . . . . . | | 624 |

Missionaries and assistants within our territory, 20.

Here then we have the whole number of the colonists now in Maryland in Liberia, viz: . . . . . 624

And from this let us subtract the whole number that have been sent there from the foundation of the colony, in February, 1834, to the present time, taken from the records, now before us, viz: . . . 578

Leaving a natural increase of . . . . . 46

It may be remarked that there have been other acquisitions to the colony besides emigrants from Maryland, particularly those who went from Monrovia and Bassa in the brig Ann, at the settlement of the colony. But we think this number is fully equalled by those who have left the colony. There are, for instance, now residing in this city three who have returned home. Luke Walter and his whole family, eleven in all, returned almost immediately after their arrival in the colony. Some are also in other colonies along the coast, changing their residence, as might be expected in a free country. The conclusion is but fair, that independent of immigration, we have a regular increase, although a small one, over all deaths from acclimation, casualties and accidents, a remarkable circumstance in the settlement of any new country, and we believe unprecedented in the tropical world.

We append a table of births, deaths and marriages taken from the Colonial Records. The marriages and births from January, 1840, to January, 1843, the deaths for the past year only, those of the two preceding years having been annually reported.

It will be noted that the whole number of deaths the past year have been 19, amongst these, 3 white missionaries and 2 from casualty—exclusive of these there have been but 14, while the number of births for the same periods has been 22, making a net increase of 8 the past year. Let these facts speak for the salubrity of the colony of Cape Palmas!

We consider this table, and the foregoing, of the utmost importance to the cause of African colonization, for true it is that the fatality attending emigration in former years was a matter of serious consideration, and in

striving against the disease of that climate we have almost been disposed to give up in despair. We have the greatest reason to be grateful for these more favorable results.

## MARRIAGES.

| NAMES. | DATE. | BY WHOM. |
|---|---|---|
| Allen Pratt and Mary Moulton, | 1840. March, | Rev. G. R. McGill. |
| Henry Guttridge and Amelia Fuller, | " | Rev. A. D. Williams. |
| Charles McIntosh and Georgiana | " | Rev. J. L. Wilson. |
| Shad. Tubman and Sylva Tubman, | " | Rev. John Revey. |
| Peter Brisco and Eliza Duncan, | July 30, | Rev. A. D. Williams. |
| Moses Hobbs and Charlotte Parker, | " | Rev. L. B. Minor. |
| Rich'd Donaldson and Martha Green, | Oct. 22, | Rev. A. D. Williams. |
| Manuel Davenport and Jane Hobbs, | " | Rev. John Revey. |
| James Brisco and Emeline Johnson, | " | Rev. A. D. Williams. |
| Stephen Hall and Miss Hobbs, | " | Rev. A. D. Williams. |
| George Harvey and Sarah Howard, | " | Rev. J. L. Wilson. |
| Major Hicks and Sophia Alleyne, | 1841. Jan. 3, | Rev. J. L. Wilson. |
| Henry Hannon and Jane Wilson, | April 8, | Rev. G. R. McGill. |
| Nich. Jackson and Dianah Davenport, | 1842. May 1, | Rev. A. D. Williams. |
| Leonard Gant and Clarissa Gross, | " 4, | Rev. J. L. Wilson. |
| John H. Ward and Dianah Hall, | " 5, | Rev. J. L. Wilson. |
| Stephen Tubman and Sylva Lee, | Nov. 17, | Rev. A. D. Williams. |
| Isaac Mumford and Fanny Johnson, | " 24, | Rev. A. D. Williams. |

Total, 18.

## DEATHS IN THE COLONY, SINCE JANUARY, 1842.

| DATE. | NAMES. | CAUSE. |
|---|---|---|
| 1842. January 20, | Betty Howard, | Consumption. |
| March 1, | Benjamin Johnson, | Consumption. |
| " 14, | John Revey, | Not known. |
| " | Patty Welch, | Not known. |
| " 15, | Rebecca Jackson, | Not known. |
| April 16, | Nathaniel Lee, | Consumption. |
| May 2, | Mrs. Walker, white, | Not known. |
| " 4, | Miss Coggeshall, white, | Not known. |
| " 5, | Cornelius Jackson, | Drowned. |
| " 28, | Mary McGill, | |
| June 23, | James McFarland, | |
| " " | Mary Moulton, | |
| September 12, | Henry Gross, | Consumption. |
| " 16, | Julia Dennis, | |
| " 19, | Sarah Green, | |
| " 24, | Sydany A. Jones, 4 days old, | |
| December 6, | Samuel Gypson, | Drowned. |
| " 23, | Mrs. T. S. Savage, white, | |
| " 29, | William Henry Gant, | |

Total, 19.

## BIRTHS.

| PARENT'S NAMES. | DATE. | SEX. |
|---|---|---|
| John B. Bowen, | 1840. March, | Girl. |
| John Banks, | May, | Boy. |
| Nicholas Jackson, Sen. | July 29, | Girl. |
| Jane Wilson. | August 13, | Girl. |
| Benjamin Johnson, | June 7, | Girl. |

| PARENT'S NAMES. | DATE. | SEX. |
|---|---|---|
| James Brisco, | 1841. February 13, | Girl. |
| Anthony Wood, | September 5, | Boy. |
| Burwell Minor, | September 18, | Boy. |
| John Harris, | 1842. January 18, | Girl. |
| Robert Scotland, | February 19, | Boy. |
| James B. Dennis, | " | Girl. |
| Henrietta Taylor, | April 14, | Boy. |
| John D. Moore, | " 15, | Girl. |
| Henry Hannon, | " 16, | Boy. |
| Stephen Hall, | " 30, | Boy. |
| Susan Tubman, | May 1, | Boy. |
| Arthur Wilson, | " 20, | Girl. |
| Frederic Tubman, | " 27, | Girl. |
| James Greenfield, | June 4, | Boy. |
| Benjamin Johnson, Jr. | " | Girl. |
| George Jones, | September 19, | Girl. |
| Charles Hammond, | September, | Boy. |
| Leonard Gant, | October 9, | Boy. |
| Nicholas Jackson, Jr. | November 7, | Boy. |
| Burwell Minor, | December 4, | Girl. |
| Shad. Tubman, | " | Boy. |
| Alexander Hance, | " | Boy. |
| Rev. A. D. Williams, | " 20, | Boy. |
| John Ross, | " 21, | Girl. |
| Thomas Brown, | " 27, | Boy. |

Whole number, 30.

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## SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY—PRESENTED MAY 1843.

We find the above document in the July number of the African Repository, and a most able and comprehensive one it is too. It abounds in facts and statistics, and unanswerable deductions therefrom, which are the usual characteristics of any paper from the pen of the working and thinking secretary of that society. Although not specially adapted to our latitude, yet had it come to hand somewhat earlier, we should with pleasure have presented it to our readers. By the way, why did not Mr. Tracey send a copy to the office of the Maryland State Colonization Society if not to our humble selves. As it is, we must make a few extracts.

The commencement, although as we said above not adapted to our latitude, gives the correct view of the subject, and proves what we have often had occasion to state, that there are not a sufficient number of agents in the field, and, therefore no perfect and permanent organization throughout the country. In fact, nobody knows any thing of colonization except by accident.

"*Mr. President*:—During the year which now closes, the managers of the society, hope that they have not only avoided injuring its interests by "indiscreet action," but have made some progress in overcoming the obstacles which impede its success. These obstacles are neither few nor small; yet they are such as, we doubt not, well directed and persevering

industry may effectually remove. It should be remembered, that the cause of colonization in New England has never been sustained by a permanent organization located in the midst of us, and wielding all those means of acting on public sentiment, which other societies find indispensible to success. There have been some local associations, too small to act steadily through the year, and from year to year, either by agencies, by the press, or in any other mode, and there have been occasional visits of agents from the parent society; but there has been no permanent system pleading our cause, and securing friends and support continually throughout our whole territory. The cause has been left, for the most part, to stand or fall by such knowledge of its merits, as the newspapers and other channels of information might happen to diffuse. Thus left to itself, its works praised it, and it made many friends.

"Opposition, however, for the last ten years, has not been wanting in system or industry, or extent, or continuity of effort. We do not speak by way of crimination or complaint; for our fellow citizens have an undoubted right to be industrious in disseminating what they believe to be the truth. But, in order to understand our own position, we must remember, that for ten years past, our opponents have been fully organized, and have been systematically and industriously using, in every part of the commonwealth and New England, the influence of agencies, of the press, and of other means by which public sentiment is moulded. Nor is this all. Soon after this organized opposition commenced, the greater part of our friends among the clergy and many of our other friends found it necessary, as they thought, to become practically neutral, for the sake of peace. Pastors of churches who had annually advocated our cause and taken up collections for its support, thought it necessary to stop, and not only to become silent themselves, but to exclude the subject wholly from their pulpits, and as far as in their power, from the minds of their people, lest their churches should be rent by the violence of party, and all the interests of piety should be brought low. This fact also, we mention without approving or condemning it, and simply as one of the facts which explain our present position."

In the following passage Mr. Tracey alludes to a most important fact, viz: That in forming an estimate of the colony we are too apt to compare it and the character of its people with the most enlightened communities in the long civilized and temperate regions of the world, which certainly is any thing but fair. Just compare the Liberians in point of enterprise, industry, intelligence and morals, with even the white inhabitants of any—yes, *any* portion of the tropical world, and we fear not the result. Our own personal observation extends to Trinidad de Cuba, and its port Cassilda, to Aux Cayes and Port au Prince in Hayti, and to the island and port of St. Thomas, and we hesitate not to declare our preference for the Liberian colonies to either. True, there is not so much wealth there, and not so many wealthy people, but then there are not so many poor, and the poor are not so degraded and wretched. And in point of morals the Liberians are far in advance.

"The state of the colony, too, is encouraging. But on this point there is a false rule of judging, which needs to be set aside. The colony is only about twenty years old. It is composed of emancipated slaves and free coloured people from the United States, nearly all of whom were so poor that their passage had to be paid by charity. They have had to struggle with all the difficulties of a new settlement, with primitive forests and savage beasts and savage men. No reasonable person will expect their

towns to equal those of New England, where men of giant minds and their descendants have been making improvements for two centuries. From the necessity of the case, the colony must appear a wretched place to a thoroughbred New Englander who never saw any other part of the world, and who compares it with his own almost faultless home. The judgments of such men, formed while suffering from the coast fever and home sickness, must, of course, be unfavourable. It is certain, too, that the coloured man, who emigrates to Africa, like the white man who removes to the West, must encounter hardships and privations which he might have avoided by remaining quiet in his old home, with no attempt to improve his condition. It is certain, too, that the colony has not been so well managed as it would have been, had the colonists been better, and abler, and richer men, and had the society possessed, from the beginning, all the information it has acquired by twenty years of experience and inquiry; and there are, doubtless, defects there now, growing out of erroneous management. It must also be conceded, that this colony, like all others that ever have been or ever can be planted, consists in part of persons destitute of piety; and that the style of piety which prevails there is much the same as among people of similar attainments in the United States, containing a larger proportion of animal excitement, self-deception, and inconsistent conduct, than is found in the best churches in this country. All these things might safely be conceded from the nature of the case, even if there were no evidence in relation to them.

"Still the testimony is conclusive that the colony is fulfilling all reasonable expectations. Captain Stoll, of the British Navy, thinks it the only institution on the coast of Africa which promises to be successful in raising the slave into a freeman, extinguishing the slave trade, and promoting the religious and moral improvement of Africa at large. In his opinion, colonies on the principle of Liberia ought to be established as soon as possible, if we wish to serve Africa, and the materials of such colonies can be procured only from the United States.

"Colonel Campbell, for three years Governor of the British colony at Sierra Leone, bears witness to the intellectual and moral superiority of the Liberians over the people of his own colony, and asserts that it is by the establishment of such colonies as Liberia, that the civilization of Africa will be effected.

"The Rev. Dr. Philip, superintendent of the London Missionary Society's missions in South Africa, says of Liberia: 'I regard this settlement as full of promise to this unhappy continent. Half a dozen such colonies conducted on christian principles might be the means, under the divine blessing, of regenerating this degraded quarter of the globe.'

"Of the same character is the testimony of such Americans as, from their personal acquaintance with the facts, their capacity for appreciating them, and their freedom from temptations to judge unfavourably, are most worthy of our confidence. Official despatches and other accounts from the colony confirm this testimony. In short, there is no reason to doubt, that with all its defects, it is far the best specimen of a civilized and christian community in that part of the world, and excepting, perhaps, some of the white settlements in South Africa, superior to any other, on that whole continent. Even if we take the most unfriendly statements ever made as unexaggerated truth, the colonists are far superior in morals, piety, education, and all civilized customs, to the emancipated slaves of the British West Indies. And yet the latter are said to be doing well, and it is truly said, for they are rapidly improving."

The report closes with the following argumentative appeal:

"And why should we not go forward? The results of the year show that our cause is strong in the affections of the wise and good. Only let our well-wishers even in this desponding and discouraged region come out and show themselves, and they will prove to be an exceeding great army. They will be astonished at their own numbers and power, and will wonder that they were even afraid. We need not labour without hope.

"Nor need we labour without motive. Is it nothing to have planted on the coast of Africa, a colony better adapted to regenerate that benighted continent, than British philanthropy, aided by British power, has ever been able to place there; and that, even in the opinion of British judges? Is it nothing, that thirty nations, though little ones, have been reclaimed from the slave trade, and turned their faces towards civilization and christianity? Is it nothing, that christian missions are permanently established and successfully at work, in a region where all previous attempts, which had been numerous, for a century had failed? Is it nothing, that black men are actually carrying salvation to the bodies and souls of their brethren, where white men cannot live? In the words of an enlightened British officer, "if we would serve Africa, let us go on with this work."

"And what shall we say of those freemen, who find their colour an obstacle to their happiness here, and ask us to restore them to the land from which their fathers were most wrongfully brought away? It is easy to say, that nothing but a wicked prejudice molests them here; but will that justify us in making this continent their prison. If we could take upon ourselves the pain and loss which that prejudice inflicts, it might, perhaps be generous for us to do it; but to insist that they shall stay here and endure pain, contrary to their own judgment and inclination—is it any thing less than cruelty?

"Especially should we be moved by the appeal of our brethren in bondage whose freedom may be secured by emigration. Of those who have gone thither during the past year, at least 157 were slaves while here, and but for the enterprise in which we are engaged would have been slaves still. Others may be free if we will help them to cross the Atlantic. To some of them, this privilege has been left by the wills of their late masters, and they must emigrate by a certain day, or they must be sold at auction, when husbands and wives, parents and children must go wherever the highest bidder for each chooses to carry them. Some who once had this privilege, but whose time expired last year, have been sold already; for the society could not raise the necessary funds to aid them. There are others, whose time will expire this year. Fifty or sixty dollars each, on an average will save them. Shall we sit still, and keep our money, and let them be sold? We cannot give them freedom in this country. Those who could, for reasons which satisfy themselves, refuse to do it, or are dead, and their wills cannot be altered. We can give them freedom in Africa, and is it not better to be a free man there, than a slave in America? Which condition would we choose for ourselves, or for our children?*

"If slavery here is better than freedom in Africa, the Colonization Society is certainly a great sinner. In its very infancy, it persuaded our national government to brand as piracy the only process by which men were ever transferred, not from the privileges of civilized christian freemen in Liberia, but from the savage freedom of uncivilized, pagan Africans, to slavery in the United States, and to negotiate with other governments to do the same. Other nations have been induced to follow the example till the doctrine

* We understand the writer to speak comparatively of the prospects of a race under permanent slavery or permanent freedom.—Ed. Rep.

which this society was the first to urge, has become the prevalent law of the civilized world, and powerful fleets are pledged by treaty to enforce it. And this efficient public sentiment of all the most enlightened parts of christendom rests, mainly, not on any accidental circumstances attending the slave trade, but on its essential character. That trade was denounced as piracy, not merely or mainly because it had been cruelly conducted. Evils of that kind might have been remedied by legalizing and regulating it. Nor was it from any ignorance or forgetfulness of any of the privileges which slaves, through the humanity of their masters, enjoy in the United States; for the act so denouncing it was introduced into Congress by a southern statesman, and carried, to a great extent, by southern votes. But this sentence of condemnation was passed upon the slave trade, because, in the judgment of all enlightened consciences, the transfer of men from a state of freedom, to a state of slavery, is a bad act, and, those who make it their business, are of course, "*hostes humani generis,*" *(enemies of the human race,)* and therefore, when acting by force, on the high seas, come within the old and established definition of piracy.

"Is this all wrong? Ought those fleets to be recalled, those treaties abrogated, and all the laws against the slave trade repealed? Nay more: If slavery here, be better than freedom there, let us kindly send a missionary in every slave ship to explain to the benighted natives, the blessings which it brings them, that, instead of needing to be taken by force, and confined in barracoons, they may crowd thankfully to the shore, and beg the privilege of being transferred from the wretchedness of freedom, to all the happiness and hopes of slavery. But if all this be not our duty; if freedom in Liberia be better than slavery here, let us not withhold good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of our hand to do it.

Respectfully submitted in behalf of the managers,

JOSEPH TRACEY, *Secretary.*"

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We promised in our May number to give some extracts from the abolition prints, in order that our Maryland patrons might judge for themselves of their present aspect and character, and the kind feelings they all entertain towards Maryland colonization. But we have been wofully neglected of late; not a single abolition paper has come to our office the past month, and we are forced to copy the following graphic description of the doings of the Anti-Slavery Convention from the Boston Post, for lack of something more spicy.

On Wednesday and Thursday (old election week) I attended, for some time, at this convention, at the Miller Tabernacle in Howard street. The performances (speaking) were of a mixed kind, tragedy, comedy, and farce, according to the disposition, character, education, and talents of the orators. There was the eloquence of bold, rude, unpolished invective; of ludicrous, homely, illiterate sarcasm; of glaring absurdity or insanity; and sometimes of the most finished, classical, powerful rhetoric, which Cicero would not have blushed to own, and which is not, perhaps, surpassed here, either in the pulpit or at the bar. There were brother Remond (jet black) and brother Garrison—brother Douglas (coloured) and brother Quincy—brother Latimer and brother Jackson—brother Foster, for uncontrolled liberty of speech, and sister Folsom for the same, but quarrelling with each other, notwithstanding. There was one class for preserving order in debate, and another class for keeping no order at all. There was one set for repudiating

and abolishing the clergy and the church, insisting on its being necessary before the abolition of slavery can succeed; and there was another set, with brother May at their head, in favour of the continuance but reformation of the ministry and the church, for the use of such as required those aids. There was sister somebody with her party, who contended that it is a sin to take money for the support of a minister from a slaveholder, whose money was earned by his slave; and there was brother Pierpont, with others, for taking what they can get, whether of slaveholders, rum-makers, or rum-sellers. There was one party (a very large one) for consuming the time in useless strife about questions of order, and other frivolous topics, for the sake of hearing themselves talk, and of gaining a trifling victory over a rival speaker; and there was another party (a very small one indeed) with a most modest, respectable, and apparently sincere and benevolent person at their head, who were for discussing and devising means for *the speedy freedom of the slave*—discussions, on account of which some persons (himself probably meaning) had come five hundred miles to this city.

One of the principal topics on Wednesday and Thursday was, whether the ministry and the church, as now existing and organized, were divinely *instituted* or commanded. In the discussion, however, the question seemed to be whether *individual ministers* are specially called, appointed, and empowered by God to expound the scriptures, and to dictate to the people on religious subjects. One of the speakers, brother Campbell, related several anecdotes to the point. The Rev. Mr. Towne, he said, had declared, that he wished all his doctrines to be discussed by his hearers; that all had a right to judge for themselves, and to discuss religious points among themselves. Taking him at his word, this speaker undertook to discuss certain points at a church or conference meeting, but was put down by Mr. Towne, and forbid to speak upon such questions in vestry meetings. He alone, he said, was authorized to teach, advise, and enlighten others of his congregation on such subjects. Other instances of a similar nature were related.

Brother Pierpont came in, during the pendency of this question, while a sister was speaking of the sinfulness of taking money in payment of a minister's salary from a slaveholder derived from slave labour. The reverend brother took fire like a loco foco match and rose to reply; and he very soon became deeply involved in his favourite subjects, the temperance cause, and his long disputes with his parishioners. He said that some of his flock were rum-distillers and rum-sellers; but he should be very glad to obtain from them what they owed him for his salary, that he might be able to pay his debts, even though their money was earned in making and selling rum. But he would tell them plainly and boldly, when he received their money, that he should use it to nourish his body for the purpose of doing all in his power, while his life should last, to destroy their business and prevent their making any more money in that way. He would even take the money of his satanic majesty himself; but he would tell him, at the same time, that he should do his utmost to overturn his kingdom and destroy his power. He would not scruple to take his *money*, but he would, at the same time, boldly take the cloven-footed giver by the *horns*. He was here called to order by brother Quincy, the moderator, and told that the question was not about ministers' salaries, but whether they or their order were *divinely* instituted; or, rather, whether the belief of such a divine institution must not be rooted out, and the present establishment and organization of ministers and churches be abolished, before slavery could be abolished. Brother P. then disclaimed, for himself, any such divine authority. He claimed being a *man*, and nothing more. He stood six feet high or over in his shoes, and that, he thought, entitled him to be considered a man, and respected as such. He preached as a mere man, and performed his other duties in that

character. The speaker, however, soon diverged into his old favourite subject of salaries and parish disputes—was again called to order by brother Quincy—and, having nothing further to say about the real question at issue, resumed his seat.

On Thursday, the question came up, whether a true, honest, conscientious abolitionist could properly accept any office, or vote for any officer, who takes an oath to sustain the constitution of the United States—that constitution recognising and sustaining slavery. The affirmative was taken, I believe, by every speaker; and brother Wendell Phillips delivered an extemporaneous speech in its support, which, for ingenuity of reasoning, aptness of illustration, readiness of quotation from the greatest British and American statesmen, purity of diction, fluency and happiness of language, chaste and beautiful figures, propriety and elegance of pronunciation, and, in a word, of *classical oratory* worthy of the Augustan age itself, has been, it appeared to me, rarely surpassed even by our most gifted and admired speakers. It is to be regretted that his fine talents, except on occasions of this kind, are hid in the earth, and are absolutely unknown to the community in general.

During the discussion of this or some other question, brother Foster "had the platform," but departing from the question entirely, was called to order by the moderator. He refused to obey, and insisted on his right to say what he pleased, and to discuss any subject he pleased. Upon this, the moderator, brother Quincy, left the chair and abdicated his office. A motion was then made, by the "order party," that the chair should be sustained. A long and angry debate ensued, in the course of which brother Foster insisted that the moderator had only power to advise, but not to control a speaker. He had long contended for this right of speech, and he never would relinquish it. He had been imprisoned for exercising it in religious assemblies, and he was ready to be put in prison again for asserting it. Every person had this right, except the insane; and he considered Abby Folsom insane, and therefore not entitled to it. Sister Folsom being present, rose under feelings of the greatest indignation. They both had been arrested and tried for disturbing religious meetings. He had been committed to jail, and she was sent to the hospital at Worcester. She told brother Foster that in calling her insane, he had committed, she believed, the "unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost," and it would be found, at the day of judgment, that he was now "fighting against God." But she would say, as the Saviour said of his enemies and revilers, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." She had, it is true, been cruelly, unjustly, and wickedly sent, by those usurpers, the courts and judges, without righteous authority, to the Worcester *house of the dead.* They call it a *hospital*, said she, but most absurdly and improperly—for there is no *hospitality* there! She continued, a few minutes, speaking with energy, distinctness, and grammatical correctness, commanding the most earnest attention, though sometimes interrupted by a burst at the oddity or pungency of her expressions. The illiberal, unfeeling, and uncalled-for rudeness of brother Foster was amply compensated by a highly complimentary remark of brother Phillips afterwards, in regard to the great aptness and propriety of an observation made by her on another occasion.

After a long and pretty warm discussion among the brethren, the question was put to the audience, "that the chair be sustained," and was carried by a very large majority. Mr. Quincy was then unanimously invited to resume the chair, which he did; but brother Foster, finding himself not supported in his liberty doctrine, declared his withdrawal from the society and convention, with the intention of labouring in the "sectarian field" in future.

In these disorderly labours, he will probably be soon sentenced again to imprisonment for disturbing religious meetings.

In the convention were two coloured brethren, who exhibited superior talents and acquirements in oratory. Brother Remond, of Salem, is a young man, a *black nigger*, as he called himself. He is very fluent and energetic; his language is correct, his style good, and his pronunciation unexceptionable. Having, in his lecturing travels, been roughly handled and ignominiously treated, he is very violent and abusive of ministers, deacons, and church members, who did not sustain him, pouring out the vials of his wrath, also, upon those "scoundrels" the railroad directors, especially those in Salem. He manifested an almost rabid antipathy against the "Jim Crow car," designed expressly for the special accomodation of "the niggers." He seemed quite a favourite with some of the white young ladies of the audience, with whom he occasionally seated himself.

Brother Douglas is a mulatto, less ardent and violent than brother Remond, but a very good speaker. He is older, more dignified and moderate, shows more considerateness and prudence, and is probably much the wiser man. They were both, together with George Latimer, added to the committee appointed to wait on President Tyler, and to request him to manumit all his slaves. This request will be, no doubt, highly acceptable to the president, and will be rendered the more gratifying by this most appropriate addition to the committee.

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Coloured Convention.—A national convention of the coloured citizens of the United States will be held in the city of Buffalo on the third Tuesday in August, 1843.

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J. G. Birney declines being the abolition candidate for the office of president of the United States.

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## FOURTH OF JULY COLLECTIONS FOR 1843.

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|---|---|---|---|
| July 8th. | Received from | M. E. Church, Light street, per J. Brundige, Esq. | $10 00 |
| " 14th. | " | " Frisby Henderson, Esq., Elkton, Md. | 5 00 |
| " 17th. | " | " Rev. Mr. Peterkin, Frederick, Md. | 13 59 |
| " 19th. | " | " Rev. R. W. Goldsborough, Easton, Md. | 5 00 |

## FOR THE COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

| Chestertown, *Kent County, Md.* | | Centreville, *Queen Anne County.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| E. Wilkins, | $3 00 | Pere Wilmer, | $1 00 |
| Jos. Wickes, | 1 00 | S. L. Wright, | 1 00 |
| George Vickers, | 2 00 | Jno. Tilghman, | 2 00 |
| G. B. Wescott, | 2 00 | Wm. S. Turpin, | 2 00 |
| Mrs. Dr. Thomas, | 1 00 | Charles McCollister, | 1 00 |
| George Holliday, | 1 00 | Wm. J. Hopper, | 1 00 |
| Hiram Brown, | 5 00 | Wm. H. Riley, | 1 00 |
| J. B. Eccleston, | 1 00 | W. A. Spencer, | 1 00 |
| Daniel Jones, | 1 00 | | |

☞ All Communications intended for the Maryland Colonization Journal, or on business of the Society, should be addressed to Dr. James Hall, General Agent, Colonization Rooms, Post Office Building.

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